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be made more powerful by magical means or the ritual acts of relatives. Although these often entail great labour and expense, parents seldom neglect their duty; in fact, care for their children is one of the strongest Bella Coola characteristics, though the methods used are so foreign to the white man that he has difficulty in realising their meaning. The hope of both parents is to have children to carry on their names; infanticide is unknown and the death of an infant is mourned almost as much as that of an adult. Sterility and impotency are frequent causes for divorce.

At the present time there is a high birth-rate in Bella Coola, although the heavy infant mortality prevents any appreciable increase in the population. In the old days, it is said, there were always large families, though much confidence cannot be placed in this statement. In families where there are several children, the first-born, whether boy or girl, assumes an important position. His or her influence, as eldest, is naturally considerable, and the parents foster this through the vague feeling that it is proper for the eldest to be the most important in the family. In adult years, and after marriage, the influence of the eldest of a family continues to have considerable weight with younger brothers and sisters.

If a man is poor he cannot hope to have more than one wife, and his family circle will be limited to their children, and perhaps to elderly parents. On the other hand, a wealthy and powerful man usually has a larger family. Not only may he have several wives, but his aged relatives, and those of his wife, look to him for support and assistance. Such are usually welcome to live in his house; they lend what aid they can in collecting food, and it gratifies a man's pride and sense of power to be closely surrounded by a large family. The Bella Coola are, on the whole, considerate to their aged relatives.[1]

[1] This is not true of the present. During the winter of 1923-4 a feeble old man, living alone, was often in actual want of food. Disliked and despised, of a mean disposition himself, none of his surviving relatives, of whom the nearest were nephews, would take him into their houses. Commenting on this man's fate, several informants pointed out how, in the old days, such a one could have found

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TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Father (continued).....	*mäx*	*mäx*
	Term used, rarely, by an adult of either sex; *ätäxo* is more common. *Mäx* is often used by an adult when speaking to any old man as a courtesy title.	Used by an adult.
Mother's husband....	*ätäxo*	*äti*
	Terms used by small children.	
	mäx	*mämämat*
	Used by adult; more commonly *ätäxo*.	Used by adult.
Mother.....	*mämæo*	*mämä*
	Used by baby.	Used by baby.
	pämæo	*pämä*
	Used by small child.	Used by small child.
	äti	*äti*
	Used by adults of either sex with same limitations as *mäx*.	
Father's wife.....	*mämæo* or *pämæo*	*mämä* or *pämä*
	Used by small children.	
	äti	*ämämat*
	Used by adults, more commonly *pämæo*.	Used by adults.
	The application to step-parents of the terms usually limited to the real parents is merely a mark of endearment, without social significance.	
Parent of either sex...	*älpaalaiyuly*	*ämaaläyät*
	These terms are used for a parent of either sex when old and feeble. Their use is a mark of courtesy and implies respect for those with wide knowledge of family history.	
Father's brother.....	*zizi*, or by name, or *älpaalaiyuly*	*zizi*
Mother's brother.....	" " "	"
Father's sister.....	*xuläxoo* " "	*xuläxoo*
Mother's sister.....	" " "	"
	If the family contains more distant relatives of the generation preceding that of the speaker, for example, a father's father's brother's son, or a mother's mother's brother's daughter, the terms *zizi* and *xuläxoo* may be applied in courtesy to these individuals.	
Father's father.....	*hulpai*, or more commonly, *ätäxo*	*hulpi*
Mother's father.....	" " " "	"
Father's mother.....	*älpaao* " " *pämæo*	*älpa*
Mother's mother.....	" " " "	"
	Especially when living together, children usually address their grandparents by the terms properly applied to parents.	

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TERM	DIRECT ADDRESS	INDIRECT ADDRESS
Husband	Usually by name, or *di hemamay lai*, "my husband," or *emik*, "man."	*di hemamay lai*, or by name.
Co-husband, in a polygamous household		
Wife	Usually by name, or *ni gwa hoie*, "my gwa," woman.	By name, or *ni gwa hoie*.
Co-wife, in a polygamous household		
Wife's brother and the reciprocal,	*gukz* By name, or *gukzuk*	*gukz gukzuz*
Sister's husband (man speaking)	- -	-
Wife's sister and the reciprocal,	*atskus*, or by name.	*atskus*
Sister's husband (woman speaking)	- -	-
Brother's wife (man speaking) and the reciprocal,	- -	-
Husband's brother	- -	-
Brother's wife (woman speaking) and the reciprocal,	- -	-
Husband's sister	- -	-
Wife's father or Wife's mother and the reciprocal,	*gkai* -	*gkai* -
Daughter's husband	- or by name.	-
Husband's father or Husband's mother and the reciprocal,	- -	- -
Son's wife	- or by name.	-
Father's brother's wife	*atsis*, *atsudlimut*, or (as a term of affection without social significance) *atskum*.	*atsudlimut* or *ni gwa di nilli*, "Wife of my *nist*."
Mother's brother's wife	Same as father's brother's wife.	
Father's sister's husband	*atsis*, *atsudlimut*, or (as a term of affection without social significance) *nist*.	*atsudlimut* or *di hemamay di atskum*, "Husband of my *atskum*."

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to a guest was regarded as amusing. In recent years, however, some husbands have made a practice of renting their wives to white men. This is not considered creditable, but the Bella Coola do not strongly condemn breaches of the moral code, which are regarded as the affair of the husband alone. There is said to be a Bella Bella custom by which a wife takes as recognized paramour one of the friends of her husband who is thought not only to know of this but to receive the presents which the lover gives his wife. The two continue to be friends and often hunt together; in fact, their mutual interest in the woman is a bond between them. No trace of this practice could be found in Bella Coola.

POLYGAMY

It has thus far been assumed that the Bella Coola are monogamous, an assumption correct only since the period of white dominance. Previous to that time it was quite common for wealthy men to have three, four, or more wives. *Potlas*, the important chief so often mentioned, had nine, ten, or eleven, the exact number is not known. A man wishing to take a second wife could do so in the manner already described, although the period of engagement was usually much shorter, and working for his parents-in-law was not expected. The reason for this was obvious to the Bella Coola. None but a chief of importance could afford more than a single wife, and such an one could not be expected to demean himself by working for anyone else. Besides, parents were glad to have their daughters married to a great chief, so willingly omitted the customary period of servitude. Few attained the distinction of having several wives. As far as could be learnt, the number of the sexes seems always to have been about equal, in itself a check to polygyny in a community where practically every adult had a wife. A number of males were always slain in war, and it is to be assumed that polygyny was made possible only through the surplus of women thus caused. The great majority of men had a single wife, some chiefs had

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595 two, but only one of great importance could hope to aspire to
556 more, while the case of *Potlis* was considered to be unique and highly desirable.

595 A chief's wives always lived in the same house, and it is
578 said that disputes were frequent. *Potlis* endeavoured to prevent jealousy by providing each woman with a special bedroom and sleeping for a single night with each in order. One informant had two wives when a young man, and he found that the only way to avoid constant bickering was by sleeping in one bed, between them. The evidence seems clear that plurality of wives was usually the cause of considerable friction, though this never deterred a man from taking a second wife if he could. The only special rule of incest in
[835] this regard was that two sisters could not be married at the
[582] same time.

595 In answer to questions about polyandry, two men told of
183 a licentious woman who had two feeble-minded husbands
626 between whom she used to sleep. The whole affair was considered disgusting, but public opinion did not ostracize the offenders since a person's marital affairs were considered to concern the individual only. It was accordingly assumed that
595 the institution of true polyandry did not exist, when, unex-
556 pectedly, information was volunteered about its occurrence in the families of influential men. A very powerful chief, if his only child was a daughter, quite frequently married her simultaneously to the sons of other chiefs. She was thus considered most fortunate, since only a wealthy man could provide for a daughter in this way, and expend the large quantities of goods necessary to ensure her proper marriage in each case. The husbands were never brothers, and seldom related, since the ambitious parent wished to ally his daughter with different ancestral families for the benefit of any resultant children. The joint wife was accustomed to live for a number of months in the home of one of her husbands, with her other husbands forming part of his household. She would then move to the house of another, who assumed the leadership of the group,

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with the others, including the one who had just been leader, as followers. It is said that there was rarely friction among the joint husbands, since each realized that his turn would come as head of the household, and meanwhile the wife endeavoured to share her favours indiscriminately. The children were considered equally the offspring of each husband, thus automatically acquiring membership in several ancestral families. Such were regarded as indeed fortunate, provided with every potential means of assistance in the struggle of life.

Recognizing its importance, every effort was made to verify this information. Further questioning elicited the statement that the informant had never seen a case of this, though he asserted that when a young man he had often heard of it and that the custom had then only recently died out. Another old man and an elderly woman confirmed the above statement almost word for word, and each added that it was well known when they were young, though they had never actually seen it in practice. One man believed that the custom had formerly prevailed in several parts of the coast, and said that he had heard of its occurrence among the "*Kwatcino*" people near Newitte. Considering the reliability of his informants, the writer gives as his personal belief that the institution of polyandry among the daughters of chiefs occurred in Bella Coola not many years ago. Knowledge of the term of address for co-husband, already given, is strong evidence in support of this view.

DISCREDITABLE MARRIAGES

Since it has been assumed that Y is the daughter of a chief, properly married with due formality, it is necessary to digress still further from the account of her relations with X to describe connections of a less creditable nature. The most common of these was with slaves. Though frowned upon by all Bella Coola ethics, such alliances, of a permanent nature, do not appear to have been rare. In some cases it was a man who thus demeaned himself, in some a woman. Since no slave could provide the goods necessary for an elaborate wedding, the

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588 556 it, although it is customary for the parents of a wife to exhibit their wealth on several occasions.

What are the advantages of such an agreement to the two parties? The husband receives considerable assistance, both in actual goods and in ceremonial prerogatives. Moreover, his vanity is gratified by the desire shown by others to have him as husband of their daughters. The advantages to the wife are more difficult to describe. Financially, her relatives always lose, yet they consider that the prestige gained by their daughter as wife of a mighty chief fully compensates for their monetary loss. Accordingly, they take pains to have a daughter married several times before puberty, either simultaneously or [595] in succession. Thus there is a form of ceremonial polyandry existing in Bella Coola at the present day. No ceremonial marriage takes place after puberty. In later years, when the [554] wife grows up, marries, and has children of her own, their status is increased materially by the pre-puberty marriages of their mother. They address her fictitious husband as "father," and his children as brother or sister, although there are no incest prohibitions with regard to them. A chief sometimes arranges the bestowal of names or other prerogatives on the children of a fictitious ex-wife, but such favours are too uncertain to provide a motive for the prevalence of the rite. Its value rests on the esteem attached to a woman whose relatives have shown their wealth and prowess by marrying her several times. When her children quarrel with their playfellows, it is common to hear one boast:

"*I* have three fathers. How many have you?"

[558] Occasionally the relatives of a fictitious bride are unable to provide the goods to repurchase her from her husband and the girl remains disgraced for life. In no circumstances has her husband any claims to marital rights with her, and in due course she can marry someone else; but it is never forgotten that she was not rebought from her husband. In 1916 a girl about four years of age was married to a man of sixty, who at the time gave her relatives $80 and a motor boat. She had

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qaxta, "Bed Covering": Term applied to the presents given as such to the party of a bridegroom when they enter the bride's house on a wedding day. [585]

q!emdjut, "A Shaking of the Fingers": Rhetorical allusion to presents regarded as "Dust." [431]

q!ənliktmm: To revolve sunwise. [195]

Q!ənq!ənliktumlaix, "The One Who Revolves Sunwise to Give Strength": One of *Tlitɛ!əlilʌ·ɛ's* names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Q!ɛ!əlɛlɛx: Place of petrified power near Kwatna. [778]

Q!ɛxmən: Village on the Skeena River.

q!əiɛut: Supernatural creature resembling a diminutive human being. [825]

q!əlɛt: Salmon liver.

q!ɛkɛ: Co-wife in a polygynous household. [595]

q!ulʌs, vocative, q!ulʌsɛ: Wife's brother, or sister's husband, man speaking.

q!ulxwəix: Gathering of the supernatural beings for the performance of dances in the land above. [601]

q!ʌmʌ: Unidentified salt water fish, said to be called "Lard-fish" by white men. [825]

Q!ʌq!ʌmmʌn ul dɛ dɛ Sɛɛm, "The Unlooser of Light": One of Raven's names as chief.

q!ʌpɛtʌmm: 1—The ability of a chief to sit down ceremonially in virtue of the goods distributed for his seat, the ground over which he walks, and other requirements.
2—The initial establishment of a youth as chief.

q!ʌpɛtɛ!ɛlɛ: Stone axe. [412]

q!ʌs: Period of engagement.

Q!ʌsbila: Q!ʌsɛɛ·ɛ man.

Q!ʌsi·lilɛ: 1—One of Raven's names as chief.
2—*Kɛsiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

Q!ʌsiɛtʌmlaix: Stʌɛx man mentioned in an ancient story.

Q!ʌsiɛxsʌn·i: Shaman's name of a *Stʌɛx* woman.

Q!ʌsiɛwɛs, "Begrimed": Name of a copper often cast into fire.

q!ʌsɛlɛs: Unidentified (and probably mythical) type of lizard, allegedly about four feet long, found near Dean Channel. [825]

q!ʌsɛm, vocative, q!ʌsɛlʌm; plural, ɛlɛ!ʌsɛlʌm: Eldest brother or sister. [601]

Q!ʌs'kʌms: Name, in the Bella Bella language, given to a wooden woman made by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

q!ʌsɛlɛlɛ: Gull. [825]

q!ʌsɛ'mɛ'kʌs, "Eldest": Term of respectful address to Porcupine as senior of all animals.

Q!ʌsɛwʌsɛ!ɛm, "The Mover": Name given to their house by one of the first groups of settlers at *Tɛ!ɛ·ic* in the beginning of time.

Q!ʌsɛlʌs: Term from which the Anglicized "Kwatna" is derived: Generic name for the villages at Kwatna Harbour, Burke Channel. [103]*

Q!ʌsɛmʌs'kʌs: Chief living on the upper *Tɛɛmɛt* in the beginning of time.

q!ʌsɛ·ɛxtʌ: Large box used for boiling olachen. [415]

Q!ʌsɛpɛ: Village south-west of the head of South Bentinck Arm.

Q!ʌsɛmɛt: Place on Schooner Pass.

Q!ʌsɛq!ɛtɛlʌ: Sɛɛɛk name of a Bella Coola man.

q!ʌsɛlɛwʌlʌm: Marks made to commemorate an event, such as carvings at chiefs' meeting-place, virtually a *memorial.* [211]

q!ʌsɛlɛʌsʌm: Figure representing crest.